DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 312 638 CS 212 031

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TITLE The Media of Guatemala Revisited.
PUB DATE Aug 89
NOTE 43p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (72nd, Washington, DC, August 10-13, 1989).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Developing Nations; Foreign Countries; *Journalism; *Journalism History; *Mass Media Role; *News Media; Press Opinion
IDENTIFIERS *Guatemala; Journalists; Media Government Relationship

ABSTRACT

Providing insight into the problems encountered by the media in developing countries, this paper addresses the history and evolution of the press in Guatemala, focusing in particular on conditions faced by journalists today under the democratically elected civilian government of the Christian Democractic party after some 20 years of military rule. The paper is based on 41 interviews with journalists in Guatemala from August 20 to September 16, 1988, and on a daily reading of the newspapers during that period as well as publications of the Guatemalan Journalists Association. The paper is in eight sections, as follows: (1) The Setting; (2) The Closure of Newspapers; (3) The Politicization of The Newspapers; (4) Newspaper Coverage and Staffing; (5) Radio and Television Journalism; (6) "Fafa" (a practice of accepting cash from sources for writing, distorting, or seeing that a news story or column is published or not published); (7) Legal Ramifications: The Carrera Case; and (8) Discussion and Conclusions. One hundred twenty-three endnotes are included. (SR)

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THE MEDIA OF GUATEMALA REVISITED

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CS212031

Submitted to the International Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., August 1989.

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THE MEDIA OF GUATEMALA REVISITED

INTRODUCTION

The mass media of Guatemala provide an interesting insight into the problems encountered by the media in developing countries. Little has been written about them, however, or those of Central American as a whole. Marvin Alisky in Latin American Media: Guidance and Censorship devoted fifteen pages to Central America, four and a half of which concerned Guatemala. Nevertheless, his overview of Latin America with its "mass media and class media" provides helpful knowledge about some of the commonalities in Latin American journalism.[1] Robert N. Pierce's book Keeping the Flame: Media and the Government in Latin America did not include Central America, with the exception of Costa Rica, long a democracy. Pierce did provide a section called "A Hemispheric View," however, which had elements applicable to Guatemala.[2]

Books such as those by L. John Martin and Anju Grover Chaudhary (Comparative Mass Media Systems) and John C. Merrill (Global Journalism) and by other authors are useful from a general comparative viewpoint, but do not provide the reader with a view into the inner workings of the mass media in Guatemala. Articles in Journalism Quarterly, Columbia Journalism Review and Washington Journalism Review and other such publications, furthermore, have tended to analyze the content, space and quality of U.S. media coverage of Latin America, or have dealt with the problems foreign correspondents face in reporting from the area or from a specific country.

The article by Francisco Goldman recently in Harper's magazine indicates not only the narrowness of his sample, but of his attitude concerning Prensa Libre particularly, and the press of Guatemala generally. Although some of his criticisms have validity, his research methods and his purpose might be questioned.[3] The reply of Prensa Libre's deputy editor, Mario Antonio Sandoval, although it suffered from editing, provides an interesting rebuttal.[4]

In short, with the exception of the monograph written by this author in 1968 and published in 1971, little attention has been given to the history and the evolution of the press in Guatemala. In that work, the writer discussed the history of the the first news story in the New World, a report written by a Guatemalan and published in Mexico in 1541; the advent of the first printing press in Guatemala in 1660; the development of the colonial press; the press's experiences under various dictatorships until 1968; and the constitutional and other legal provisions affecting the press.[5]

This work is intended to update the conditions faced by the journalists today under the democratically elected (1986) civilian government of the Christian Democratic party after some 20 years of military rule. It is based on forty-one interviews with journalists in Guatemala from Aug. 20 - Sept. 16, 1988, a daily reading of the newspapers during that period and the publications of the Guatemalan Journalists Association.

As in 1968, this study is an attempt to look at the press from the inside out rather than the outside in, and is written

largely from the viewpoint of the working journalist. Furthermore, the position of the government in its relationship to the press is reflected largely through the views of the journalists subjected to it, not through government sources themselves.

Because of the frankness with which most reporters and editors discussed their relationship to the government, the military and their profession, and the extremely sensitive nature of some of their comments, the writer has chosen at times to protect sources.

THE SETTING[6]

Guatemala, a country about the size of Tennessee with almost twice the population (1989 est.=9,414,000), shares borders with Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras and Belize. It is a nation of diverse geography, ranging from volcanic mountains to fertile river valleys. More than half of its population are descendants of Mayan Indians and the rest are generally of Spanish-Indian blood lines. The official language is Spanish, but four principal Indian languages and some forty more dialects and languages also exist.

Guatemala City, the capital with a population of some 1.8 million, dominates the country. It is not only the seat of government, it is also the social and cultural center of the nation. The next largest city in Guatemala, Quetzaltenango, has a population of 98,763 (1986 est.), and in the twenty-one other departments or provinces of the country, the capitals of nine

have an estimated population of less than 50,000. Outside of these centers, most of the population lives in remote villages scattered throughout the country. Guatemala is still about 67 percent rural, and although the general life expectancy is 62 years, for the Indian population, mostly rural, it is just 44 years.

Although the nation's literacy rate has been estimated officially at 48 percent, it drops to 29 percent for the Indian population. Journalists, however, tend to estimate the overall literacy of the population as much lower, 24-25 percent./[7]

Valentin Solorzano Fernandez in El relado de Juan Tayun: La vida de un indio guatemalteco probably best illustrates the barrier of literacy that exists among the Indians. Juan Tayun, the Indian narrator, says some Indians learn to read, but soon forget how because reading materials are scarce and work consumes their lives. Furthermore, he observed, they fear "papers" because they always contain something bad: bills, lists which require them to leave home to work elsewhere, orders to appear in court, and other such demands. ". . . malditos sean los papeles, mientras mas lejos mejor," he observed./[8]

These conditions in themselves have made the development of mass media in Guatemala difficult. The persistence of military dictatorships over the years, however, has affected the journalism profession severely. It has made it not only difficult for journalists to work, it has made it outright dangerous for their survival. Although the years between 1968 and 1978 were

bloody, it is reported that between July 1978 and February 1981 alone, 23 journalists were openly assassinated, an equal number simply disappeared, and 40-50 went into exile. This period, it was observed, not only was one of blood, grief, and nightmares, but one in which "was imposed the Censorship of Death, not only against journalists, but against all those voices who spoke out for equality, justice and respect for life."[9]/ Self-censorship, in short, became a way of life for many journalists.

Perhaps the most marked changes in the news media in Guatemala in recent years have been the closing of newspapers, the politicization of the remaining ones, the sometimes self-indulgence and self-importance they tend to manifest, the move toward modern technology in newspaper and TV production, the growth (and closures) of television news programs, the introduction of cable television and the continuing importance of radio as the principal source of information for most of the population.

THE CLOSURE OF NEWSPAPERS

Inflation and the rising cost of newsprint[10]/ resulted in the death of a number of Guatemalan newspapers. Perhaps the saddest demise among the six daily newspapers that have closed in recent years was that of El Imparcial, founded in 1922 and the dean of independent newspapers. It probably gave the most consistent and considered coverage of local and provincial news, was one to which many reporters aspired (in part because of salaries and its stability), and whose literary page was unique. It was also the only paper in Guatemala with a morgue, or library, well-organized

under its director, Rufino Guerra.[11]

The conflict between the business side and the news side, which wanted to modernize the newspaper in content and presentation, was evident as early as 1972. Ramon Blanco, its business manager, however, wanted to maintain its circulation at the 20-25,000 level and make no changes, preferring a small elite newspaper that makes money rather than a larger more popular one that might lose it.[12] It lost advertising because its building was located outside commercial traffic and because many advertising agencies would not pay the higher commission rate the paper required. Blanco also resisted opening advertising offices throughout the city.[13]

By 1981, it was evident that El Imparcial was doomed. Cordelia Mora de Mooney, niece of the owner and assistant to the director, was most pessimistic about saving the newspaper. El Imparcial, she said, had gone beyond the point of salvation.[14] Miguel Angel Ortega Iriarte noted that an El Imparcial journalist had once commented that "If we were as well administrated as we wrote, it would be magnificent."[15] Even staff efforts to save the paper, however, were futile.

Journalists tend to blame Blanco for not modernizing the paper, improving its distribution system, and bringing it into the computer age. Because the paper paid, relatively speaking, good wages and benefits, and maintained, comparatively, a high standard of reporting, the turnover in its staff was small. Many young reporters on other newspapers desired to work for El Imparcial because of its prestige, but little turnover on the

small staff occurred because few left the sanctuary it provided. Its staff aged with the newspaper. The paper died.

By 1988, only three independent daily newspapers were left in Guatemala: Prensa Libre (a.m), El Gráfico (a.m.) and La Hora (p.m.). Diario de Centro América (p.m.), the government newspaper, distributed only to government offices and attorneys, and was not easily available on the streets. The most interesting change in the independent newspapers probably has been their politicization, however, which most surely has affected the objectivity of their coverage.

THE POLITICIZATION OF THE NEWSPAPERS

El Gráfico, a daily founded by Roberto and Jorge Carpio Nicolle in July 1963, has suffered a political and financial split between the Carpio brothers, the owners, that leave its reporters in somewhat of a quandry. Roberto in 1988 was the vice president of Guatemala under the Christian Democratic Party regime, and Jorge, who took control of the paper, aspires to the presidency under the Union of the National Center party. Another brother in the family, Mario, who published a fascinating account in 1979 about the operations of the press, has served as a media consultant to the present government and in 1988 was serving as co-director of the National Commission for the Development of Micro and Small Enterprise Program./[16]

Reporters on El Gráfico said that the political split between the brothers has affected how the newspaper covers political affairs./[17] Those from other papers have suggested that

the brothers are not on speaking terms and nothing concerning Vice President Roberto Carpio ever appears in El Grafico.[18] This writer found the latter statement inaccurate for the period studied. The speeches and activities of Roberto Carpio were reported, though in brief form, from time to time.

However, reporters noted that they did not write stories that might affect directly Jorge's political aspirations to the presidency. Jorge Carpio, it was observed, had never asked them to limit coverage of the government, or of his brother. Nevertheless, they all understood they were not to look for corruption in government, but if found, they were to publish it.[19]

They also said that government officials often would not give them information or documents because of the paper they represented and that El Gráfico, unlike the other papers, did not enjoy the luxury of government advertising.[20]

La Hora, once the bailiwick of the lusty and intransigent voice of Clemente Marroquin Rojas, has come under the direction of his son Oscar Marroquin and his grandson Oscar Clemente Marroquin G.

Clemente, as Guatemalans called him, died in 1978, and he was famous for battling governments of all stripes, including that in which he served as vice president. His grandson, Oscar Clemente, who serves as editor of the paper, unsuccessfully ran for mayor of Guatemala City, and used his paper to support his campaign.[21] He apparently still aspires to that position.

His political bent, an observer noted, tends to influence its editorial stance, although the paper is still rated high for

its even-handedness and independence, if not for its quality of local news coverage.[22]/

Diario de Centro América, the official government newspaper, fulfills its role as the voice of the government and the newspaper of record concerning laws and decrees. Its circulation is limited to government offices and attorneys, and cannot be bought on the streets. Nevertheless, changes appear to be in the making for the paper.

In 1988, its editor was Carmen Escribano de Leon, a seasoned reporter and columnist, whose social concerns have marked her work throughout her career. She is the first women editor of a newspaper in Guatemala and stands among the few women journalists working for newspapers.

In her short tenure, she has managed finally to find more space for the newspaper within the National Printing Building and has begun to upgrade its staff.[23]/ Moves were underway to find a new building, a new press, and to fill other needs.[24]/ A building under consideration apparently is that of the now-defunct El Imparcial.[25]/

Whether aspirations to make Diario more of a NEWSpaper and less of a public relations tool for government will succeed is problematical. It is filled with government press releases. Plans were being considered, however, to try to make the paper more objective and to get government approval to parcel 40 percent of the news to the official sector, 40 percent to " pure news" and 20 percent to the opposition sector.[26]/ It will be interesting to see whether the government accedes to this plan--most governments

are hesitant about giving up a built-in voice, much less share it with the political opposition.

Prensa Libre, the largest paper both in size and circulation supposedly has no political line,[27] although one editor suggested it might be considered right of center.[28] Other journalists consider it ultra-conservative, a paper dedicated to advertising and not news, and one whose conservative owners would rather see another military coup than the present democracy.[29] Mario Antonio Sandoval, its deputy editor, maintained, however, that Prensa Libre at first supported the present government, but turned more critical once corruption became evident.[30] Overall, most journalists consider Prensa Libre a conservative newspaper that is heavily influenced by the business community.

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE AND STAFFING

In spite of its 1.8 million population, Guatemala city still has many aspects of a small town. The "important" people all know each other and personal relationships sometimes are exaggerated. The limited accessibility to education and the social stratification of its population nuture an "elite" that is found on the society pages of newspapers in stiff, posed photographs. In most, they are shown sitting at tables, or standing in lines facing the camera. It is not unusual to find text and 8-10 photographs jammed on a tabloid page covering a social event.

Prensa Libre perhaps is the most self-indulgent of the two principal papers, particularly as concerns coverage of its own owners and of journalists in general. Prensa Libre, a six-column, 13.5 column-inch tabloid, with a circulation of about

73,000,[31] carried more than 1,744 column inches (37 stories and 96 photographs) between 20 August-15 September 1988 dedicated to its own 37th anniversary. Its anniversary on August 20 was still receiving attention as late as September 8. A few headlines will provide examples of the extent of its self-interest and self-promotion:

"Homage to Pedro Julio Garcia," (editor and general manager), 21 August; "Congressman recommends the editorials of Prensa Libre to the government," 25 August; "Effusive demonstrations of appreciation for the anniversary of Prensa Libre, 26 August; "Prensa Libre with the largest circulation and the most friends," 30 August; "Fidel Funes congratulates us," 1 September; "Gift and congratulations for Prensa Libre's anniversary," 8 September.

Of the newspapers in Guatemala, only the staff of Prensa Libre has access to computers in its crowded newsroom and a tolerable wage structure. The minimum salary in Guatemala is 250 quetzales ($92) and that is often the basic wage journalists receive. Beginning reporters at Prensa Libre earn 600-700 quetzales a month ($222-$259) plus a gasoline allowance, bonuses, prizes, insurance, and free medical attention in its own clinic. A few veterans of five years or more might earn a base salary of 1,600 quetzales a month ($593).[32] Only on Prensa Libre are the employees unionized. Their company union works under a contract to the paper that has well-defined provisions.[33]

The staff is small for the size of the city it covers. Prensa Libre newsroom has nine full-time reporters, each covering

4-5 beats and fifteen contributing reporters, mostly in sports, who receive stipends.[34] "Sociales," written and edited by Atala Valenzuela, has no reporters whatsoever.[35] Like many papers in Latin America, such sections tend to be looked upon with contempt or neglect--publishers and editors who would never think of running the results of a football match a week after the event, think nothing of publishing news of social events seven days late. Because of newsprint costs, Prensa Libre, as El Gráfico, often publishes its stories in six- or seven-point type. Its news services include Reuters, Associated Press, and United Press International.

Prensa Libre produces five weekly, one bi-weekly and a monthly supplement plus special commercial supplements with a staff of one editor and six reporters.[36] "Chicos," a special weekly supplement for children is published by a staff of two.[37]

Many columnists contribute without charge to Prensa Libre, but the principal ones, "Cacto" by Alvaro Contreras Vélez, "Catalejo" by Mario Antonio Sandoval, and "T-Mas" by Jose Eduardo Zarco are written by a founder of the paper (Contreras) and the sons of two founders.

Much of the superficiality of Prensa Libre's coverage can be attributed to factors which affect all Guatemalan newspapers and broadcasting news programs. The work demands placed upon its reporters, for example, can be overwhelming. "Journalism," said one editor, "consumes one's life, there's just too much work."[38] The need to fill Prensa Libre's pages (sometimes 180), and the constantly growing convenience of merely picking up public

relations bulletins from government and commercial offices can be tempting. As in the United States, public relations practitioners far outnumber news reporters and, in fact, some journalists work both sides of the fence. Prensa Libre discourages its full-time reporters from doing outside work, but does permit them to teach at the universities.

It has been suggested that the quality of Prensa Libre's coverage might also be influenced in part by the many years of self-censorship it has suffered under dictators and by the political conservatism of its owners.[39] In view of the struggle it, and its owners, have had to survive, one might understand its reluctance to indulge in in-depth investigative reporting even if it had the staff with the training to do so. In 1988, the paper was openly critical of government, but most such criticism came through editorials and columns rather than substantive reporting.

Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that one of the founders, Isidoro Zarco was assassinated in 1970, and in the 1980s Alvaro Contreras Velez and Pedro Julio García were kidnapped, the former held for six months and the latter for a week. Their ransom ran over seven figures and nearly bankrupted the paper. The houses of three owners have been bombed, the newspaper bombed twice, and the office window of Mario Antonio Sandoval, the deputy editor, contains a bullet hole.[40]

Probably one of the most serious problems the paper faces, however, is the growing size of the family it supports, and the internal conflicts that result from the estimated sixteen members of the owner's family that work on the newspaper.[41]

El Gráfico, which celebrated its 25th anniversary in July 1988, was still carrying self-promotion stories about the event in August[42] and a box listing congratulatory telegrams into September.[43] A six-column tabloid with about 40,000 circulation[44], it often suffers from much the same problems as Prensa Libre: six-point type in some stories, poor photographs, excessive use of photographs in society news, uninspired makeup, and too much dependence on public relations sources. Its news services include Associated Press, Deutsche Presse Agentur, Inter Press Service, and the Spanish news service, EFE.

Its newsroom staff consists of eight reporters, three photographers, and one coordinator of provincial news, according to one source.[45] Another said the newsroom employed six full-time reporters and six part-time ones.[46] It counts among them one of the most enterprising in the city, Ricardo Gatica Trejo, who during the period under study, wrote an on-site series about those in the countryside left homeless by Hurricane Gilbert.

Because El Gráfico salaries average less than 600 quetzales a month, many reporters work at two jobs at least.[47] For example, Carlos García Urrea, who covers congress and is one of its most thoughtful reporters, also works for "Guatemala Flash," probably the best of the radio news programs. Nevertheless, his earnings have not kept up with the times. "In 1968," he said, " I earned 150 quetzales monthly for one daily report or emission. Twenty years later, I'm still earning the same."[48]

Furthermore, El Gráfico does not offer the insurance and health benefits of Prensa Libre , nor the prizes, bonuses and

gas allowance. Government social security benefits are not sufficient and life insurance is not available through the government.[49] "If I should lose my legs in an accident," one reporter said," the paper would not provide medical or hospital insurance, and, furthermore, I'd probably be out of a job."[50]

El Gráfico also publishes at least ten supplements weekly, and most of the work is done by a small staff (some part-time). As on Prensa Libre, it publishes sections on economics, agriculture, women, sales, youth, travel and housing, plus a Sunday magazine.[51]

El Gráfico probably has the most interesting columns among the papers. Its most thoughtful may be that of Mario Alberto Carrera ("Opinión"), who touches upon a broad range of topics about social and political problems. Luz Méndez de la Vega, a poet and writer who used to edit the literary page for La Hora, also occasionally writes penetrating columns. Jorge Palmiera and Hugo Arce are basically gossip columnists who write social and political gossip, sometimes in crude, slangy, and libelous language. Palmiera likes to run a photograph of himself in "Bueños Dias" that varies with the topic of his column. Perhaps the most notable is that which shows him holding his nose.

Palmiera's life has been filled with controversy. He once was expelled from the Guatemalan Association of Journalists, although he maintains he resigned.[52] He has worked for Prensa Libre and was a controversial ambassador to Mexico. People apparently are afraid of his power and, even though important "secrets" are revealed in his column from time to time, he is

considered by some to be without ethics. Of course, others like his verve and nerve. It was suggested that he practices an indirect form of blackmail and, in fact, is a "verbal terrorist."[53]

El Gráfico is edited and published in the most elegant building of all the newspapers. It borders on luxury with its bright colors, modern design and many conveniences. Yet the newsroom is still without computer terminals.

Perhaps most troubling to some reporters and editors is the situation in which Jorge Carpio's aspirations for the presidency of Guatemala has placed them, and his perception of the importance of the newsroom. When reporters took their complaints to him about their low salaries, noting that the advertising people made much more money, he told them that advertising was more important. "This, even when we tried to tell him that without reporters there wouldn't be a newspaper," a reporter said.[54]

La Hora, the only broadsheet daily newspaper left in the city, though likely to go tabloid,[55] appears less self-indulgent than the other papers, even if it has given space to Gonzalo Marroquin G., the brother of the present editor, to voice his objections to the closing of his television news program "7Dias." His case and that of "Aqui El Mundo" will be discussed later.

La Hora generally runs twelve pages per issue and, hence, has little space for self-indulgence. Overall, the paper's local coverage is sparse, generally based on public relations releases. It even relys at times on the news service of DPA, the West

German news service, to cover Guatemala City itself.[56] Mario Carpio suggested that La Hora had only one full-time reporter to cover the city,[57] another source said the paper did not have any full-time reporters at all.[58] Gonzalo Marroquin G., who sometimes writes for the paper and is the editor's brother, said that five or six reporters work on the paper but did not indicate whether they were full-time, or in what sections they worked.[59] In fact, La Hora has been known over the years more for the freedom it gives its writers and columnists and for its political positions than for its coverage of the news.

In 1968, Clemente readily admitted his newspaper did not carry much news. "It's just like the rest of them," he said," but only worse. And when I die, the paper also will die."[60] Of course, to date he has been proved wrong. Then, how does La Hora with the high cost of newsprint, a circulation of only 7,500/,[61] and little advertising manage to survive?

According to Gonzalo Marroquin G., it is because 80 percent of circulation is by subscription and most of its profits come from its press operations: the printing of flyers, the telephone directory, and books.[62]

The paper, in addition to its low circulation, also has a distribution problem because fewer sellers are interested in handling an afternoon paper. Since La Hora sells for 25 centavos, as opposed to the 45 charged by Prensa Libre and El Gráfico, it also makes the paper less profitable for vendors to handle.[63] This writer can testify to the difficulty of finding it on sale on city streets.[64]

Gonzalo Marroquin G. observed that La Hora's circulation limits its advertising, and the fact it does not have even one advertising salesperson further compounds the problem.[65] Mario Carpio said that most of La Hora's advertising comes from the requirement that legal ads must be published twice in the official paper Diario Centro America and once more in another paper "of good circulation." In spite of the paper's limited circulation, nevertheless, the government publishes its legal notices in the La Hora apparently because its advertising rates are much lower than the other newspapers.[66]

Diario de Centro América is bereft of advertising, except for an occasional political advertisement. Without its legal insert, the paper normally runs only sixteen pages. Its staff is meager, although one reporter said that seven worked full-time along with one photographer.[67] During this writer's many visits there, however, no more than two were in the newsroom at any one time. One gets the impression that perhaps the whole staff consists of seven people, including those who edit the weekly literary supplement, Tzolkin.

Only on Diario did the city editor refuse to be interviewed, suggesting that others might be more knowledgeable than he.[68] His editor, Carmen Escribano de Leon, and other reporters and editors, however, were most accessible.

The Diario staff works under the constraints that any government newspaper offers plus the limitations of its resources, including staff. Its newsroom has ten desks, nine typewriters and no evident references, although the director's office contains

some. Its circulation has been estimated as between 4,000-10,000.

A new addition to the print media of Guatemala should be mentioned. Crónica, a weekly news magazine, was started in 1988 by five businessmen to fill the need, in a sense, for the "democratization of Guatemala" and for a return to a professional journalism that might help offset the political polarization occurring in Guatemala.[69] Evelyn Klussman, its economics editor, said that "fafa," (bribery) has been discouraged by higher salaries for reporters and editors and by the respect given those who work for the magazine.[70]

The magazine is considered liberal, even though it has a conservative member among its owners.[71] A review of the magazine from May through the middle of September 1988 indicates that indeed it tries to balance its stories and examine all points of view possible in its analyses. The magazine is on slick stock and generally uses modern makeup. Some of its sections appear weak because of its dependence on special services outside of Guatemala but, overall, it provides a balanced view compared to that of the newspapers. It is also the only publication that carries women editors on its masthead.

Because of its cost, 3.75 queztales ($1.39), it is obviously restricted to the affluent elite. For the Guatemalan economy, it is expensive indeed. Yet it appears to be gaining an audience.[72]

RADIO AND TELEVISION JOURNALISM

For the nation as a whole, radio provides the unifying connection--it can reach into the remote sectors of the country

where illiteracy is the highest. News programs, called radioperiodicos, are owned by their producers who buy air time, gather information, write it and sell advertising time. The best of them, such as "Guatemala Flash," employ reporters and may take a news service. Most, however, are one-person operations that rely on the government or newspapers for their information.

About 58 FM and 120-125 AM radio stations, many as low as 250 watts, and 100 radioperiodicos operate in Guatemala.[73] Small radio stations without news services rely on government bulletins which enhances, of course, the renewal of their licenses. Print journalists maintain that many news programs are Subsidized by the government and look upon radio journalists as non-professionals and more susceptible to bribes than print journalists.[74] "Many radio journalists work on the edge of ethics," Atala Valenzuela of Prensa Libre commented.[75]

Five television channels operate in Guatemala City. Channels 3 and 7 are owned by a Mexican, Remigio Ángel González, who has put legal ownership in the name of his wife, a Guatemalan. Channels 11 and 13 are also stations privately held by one owner. Channel 5 is owned by the government and Channel 21 is held by church interests.[76]

News programs on television (telenoticieros) have been organized and produced as in radio, except that advertising profits have to be split 50/50 with the television station.[77] Two independent news programs, "Aqui el Mundo" (Channel 3), and "7Dias," (Channel 7) were effectively closed down in 1988 when their contracts were not renewed because, many journalists

suggest, of government pressure against the station owner. It is noteworthy that both stations broadcasting the programs were those held by the wife of the Mexican impresario who, it is suggested, is a mere figurehead.[78] However, he is purportedly a close friend of Guatemala's president and other high officials.[79]

"7Dias," a news program directed by Gonzalo Marroquin Godoy, was noted for its innovativeness, its objectivity and balance, and its professionalism. It not only was impartial, it also paid its staff well.[80] Marroquin owned 51 percent of the stock of "7Dias" and the president of the Channel 7, Luis Rabbe, owned the rest.[81] The story is a complicated one, but Rabbe maintains that Marroquin's contract was not renewed because he was not paying back the monies lent him by the station to get the program underway.[82] Marroquin denies that he was behind in payments, and insists that his program's incisive and in-depth political reporting caused the denial of contract renewal, particularly his reports on the station's Mexican influence.[83] He did not abandon journalism, however. On 16 September, forty days later, he inaugurated the weekly newspaper 7Dias which he hopes will give readers both information and analysis. Within a year, he would like to move it to a daily.[84]

The case of "Aqui el Mundo" is probably the best of the worst examples that one might concoct for defending freedom of expression. Its director, Mario David García Velásquez, failed in his bid for the presidency during the last election and apparently used his program not only to criticize and embarrass the government as often as possible, but to suggest its

overthrow. He was implicated as one of six civilians in the attempted military coup on May 11, 1988, against the government.[85]/

According to various sources, García prominently displayed on the news set a red handkerchief, symbol of the rebels, and exhorted his viewers to take action. The government closed down, not the news program, but the station itself on May 19, 1988, under the American Convention on Human Rights, for using communication media for propagandizing in favor of war and inciting violence.[86]/ Interestingly, the station did not appeal the decision, and later was permitted to reopen. Meanwhile, Mario David García closed his weekly newspaper El País, took exile in Miami, and commenced a campaign to broadcast his program to Guatemala through the cable system. Distributors of cable, whose regulation is pending, were not cooperative. Garcia resorted, hence, to satellite tranmission to make his program available to those with receiving dishes.[87]/

Guatemalans are now left with only station-sponsored, television news programs and, "Hoy los mas importante," the government-sponsored television newscast that each station must run, but can schedule at its convenience.

Perhaps the most interesting development in television is the sudden appearance in recent years of some 70 television cable companies in Guatemala City. No law controlling cable exists in Guatemala. The present Broadcasting Law (Ley de radiocomunicaciones y sus reformas) was passed in 1966, and did not address itself to this possibility.

Apparenty, one needs only the necessary receiving equipment

(dish and decoder), permission of the city, and the ability to string wire from house to house. The monthly cost to the customer may range from 6-60 quetzales, depending on the density of the neighborhood, plus an installation charge of about 200 quetzales. Costs to the entrepreneur for equipment might range from $2,000-$5,000, depending on the sophistication of the equipment and the size of the operation./[88] It has been estimated that 75,000-100,000 houses in Guatemala City now have cable./[89]

Most of the first cable "companies" consisted of one householder who bought a satellite dish for personal use and then strung wires to accommodate neighbors. Some interesting incidents have occurred in this growing, free-wheeling, free-enterprise endeavor, however. In one region of the city, wirers crossed electrical lines and burned out all electrical equipment in two city blocks, including refrigerators and television sets./[90]

Perhaps even more interesting, is the ingenuity of the cable operators in exploiting the commercial time slots of American programming. Jeannette Gonzalez G., director of Radio Nuevo Mundo, observed:

> Because Americans are so punctual in the use of their ten-minute time slot for program promotion, some local cable outfits are beginning to insert their own commercials into the slot. At one quetzal ($0.37) a second, it's cheap. Also some owners have indicated that they are going to put news programs into these slots./91

Many owners of radio and television stations look upon the cable operations as unfair competition, since their initial investment is relatively meager. "Hence," Gonzalez notes, cable operators with no real basic investment are living off others."/[92]

An updating of the Broadcasting Law is being contemplated. Station owners, however, fear government involvement or regulation because twenty to thirty congressional seats are up for re-election and the law could become a political football. "We might be better off with the old, than to not know what the new might bring," Gonzalez said.[93]

"FAFA"

Reporters in Guatemala, as in much of Latin America, often work at two or three jobs and, as indicated previously, tend to be overworked and underpaid. "Fafa" is the term used by Guatemalan journalists to describe the extra cash slipped to them by sources for writing, distorting or seeing that a news story or an opinion column is published, or not published.

Often the journalist's second or third job creates a true conflict of interests. The second job may be in public relations for government, for private businesses, or for political parties.

Low pay and multiple jobs, however, are not experienced by journalists alone in a developing country beseiged by poverty--they permeate society. It is a common way of doing business in much of Latin America at all levels of society. In Mexico, where it may be the most prevalent, "fafa" in journalism is called "embute" (or "soborno"), in El Salvador "mente."

Mario Carpio in his book on the press of Guatemala devotes twenty-two pages to how "fafa" operates and the dangers it poses for the profession. Basic to the problem, he says, is that often a political party or group "assaults" the government, takes over power to have access to the public treasury, and then has the

need to project and maintain a good image. Elected governments perhaps must protect their image even more so./[94] The shrinking number of media outlets for employment and low wages, of course, contribute to the problem, as does the failure of some papers to supply benefits such as gasoline allowances and other fringe benefits.

One reporter assigned to cover an Air Force graduation, for example, was offered monies for transportation costs, even though the Air Force was flying him in at its expense. "I took it," he said. "It will pay for the gasoline I have to spend in a month to report for my newspaper."/[95]

In Guatemala, public relations practitioners often split 50/50 with recipients the "fafa" set aside for reporters or editors. Reporters then may be expected to share their take with their editors. If the reporter does not, the editor may refuse to publish the story. And, Carpio agrees that among the worst "faferos" are the radio journalists. Those with integrity, he says, can be counted on two hands./[96]

LEGAL RAMIFICATIONS: THE CARRERA CASE

A new constitution for the democratic government of Guatemala went into effect on 1 June 1985. Art. 65 provides that freedom of thought exists by any means of communication without censorship or license. Such a constitutional right cannot be restricted by law or government order. Those who use this freedom without respecting the private lives of individuals or morality will be responsible according to the law. Those who believe themselves

offended have the right to the publication of their defense, clarifications and rectifications.[97]/

The constitution makes it clear, furthermore, that the publication of denouncements, criticisms or imputations against public officials or public employees for acts carried out in the performance of their duties do not constitute an offense or crime.[98]/ Public officials and public employees, however, can request a tribunal of honor to declare that inexact information was published and that the charges were groundless. If the plaintiff is upheld, the judgment must be published in the same media of communication where the imputation appeared.[99]/

In addition, Art. 35 prohibits the expropriation, closure, embargo, intervention, confiscation, forfeiture, or interruptions in the function of enterprises, their offices, equipment, machinery, supplies and fixtures. No authority can limit the right of access to sources of information, and the authorization, limitation or cancellation of concessions granted by the State cannot be used as a pressure or compulsion to limit the exercise of freedom of thought.[100]/

The provisions of the new constitution in essence repeat those of the former constitution, and amplify them a bit. The most important change, however, may well be Art. 46 which establishes the general principle that in questions of human rights, the treaties and agreements ratified by Guatemala take precedence over internal law.[101]/

A jury must consider such offenses against the press in private and all rights and procedures are set by the press law

(Ley de Emisión del Pensamiento)./[102] The Ley de Emisión del Pensamiento of 1966 still remains in effect and provides detailed provisions concerning what are offenses, the selection of juries, and other such matters. Its Art. 37 requires newspapers to publish clarifications or rectifications, explanations or refutations, that are attributed to "inaccurate" facts. The complainant in any such clarification must address only the facts to be clarified (Art.38) and the newspaper must publish it completely without comment (Art.40)./[103]

During 1988, journalists, who generally had remained united in matters of freedom of the press under dictatorships, not only began to feel heady under a democracy to the point of licentiousness, they also began to snipe at each other in their columns. Hugo Arce of El Gráfico wrote an insulting piece about Mario Alberto Carrera, a fellow columnist on El Gráfico, titled "Señor, Señora or Señorita?" that was read on the television program "Aqui el Mundo" on January 18, 1988. In it he called Carrera various names and questioned his sexuality ("eres mediocre de sexo"), by intimating that he was a homosexual and suggesting he might have AIDS./[104]

It should be noted here that columnists, many of whom are contributors only, are held responsible for their own writings. Prensa Libre from time to time carries on its editorial pages the following note:

> Prensa Libre does not support nor endorse . . . the opinion of articles signed by an author. In conformance with the law, signers of the articles that appear here and in other sections of the newspaper are totally and exclusively responsible for their contents and consequences./104

Without going into the complex background and details of the case, Carrera took Arce to court under the press law provisions. Reviewing the situation, Jose Eduardo Zarco of Prensa Libre suggested in his column, "T-Mas," that journalists should quietly settle such problems among themselves, rather than fight publicly. He also included some snide comments, however, about Carrera. Among them, he intimated that Carrera was a lackey of the government.[105]

Carrera demanded the right of clarification, and was refused by Zarco on the basis that opinion is opinion and does not fall under the law of clarification, which deals only with factual errors. He argued that Carrerra had his own column in which he could reply.[107] Carrera suggested that it would be "inelegant" to exploit his own readers and, furthermore, Prensa Libre readers did not necessarily read El Gráfico.[108]

Carrera took Zarco and Prensa Libre to court seeking an injunction to force Prensa Libre to publish his clarification, but lost. The court ruling against Carrera noted, among other things, that Carrera should have argued his case under Art. 47 of the Press Law (Ley Constitucional de Emisión del Pensamiento rather than seek an injunction. It ruled that he was imprudent and premature not to seek that route.[109] Carrera maintained he would appeal.[110]

Perhaps, the real significance of this case lies in the precedent it might set for the challenge of opinions one disagrees with, by private individuals or by government officials, even though Carrera maintained factual errors were also contained

in Zarco's column. Many journalists viewed as dangerous the precedent of requesting an injunction to force publication of a clarification, rather than using the the procedures outlined in the press law. Also, the thought that government officials might use this route and demand space for clarifications of editorials was frightening to many journalists. The harassment value of such a tactic is apparent to anyone who has worked inside a newsroom.

The president's public relations secretary had already shown interest in using this device in an interchange of letters in June with Prensa Libre about its editorials,[111] and displayed an uncommon interest in covering the Carrera hearings. Carrera's own newspaper supported Prensa Libre's position in an editorial, as did Jorge Palmieri in his column in El Gráfico.[112]

It was the coverage given to the case by Prensa Libre itself, however, that provides grist for criticism. Keeping in mind that the paper had written strong editorials against the government, its fear of government reprisal might be well founded. From the onset of the case, however, it began carrying extremely self-serving daily stories about well-known citizens or politicians who supported the paper's stand. Between 2-16 September 1988, Prensa Libre ran 2,512 column inches of stories, editorials, columns, and miscellaneous materials agreeing with, and praising the paper's position.

A sample of headlines will illustrate: "El PR (Revolutionary Party) supports Prensa Libre"; "To clarify opinions is absurd: It was a practice employed by Hitler and Stalin"; "Legal terrorism against the press"; "Support of CACIF: the private

section solid behind Prensa Libre"; and "Colonel F.L. Gordillo, del MEC, supports Prensa Libre."[113]

Most amazing of all, however, might well be the coverage given by the paper to the Carrera hearing in court. In the full-page coverage by Prensa Libre, the arguments of Carrera were never outlined, or even mentioned. Only those of the lawyers of Prensa Libre were given. The reader was left completely in the dark as to what arguments Carrera and his lawyer offered. None of the three photographs carried with the story showed Carrera.[114] El Gráfico gave more balanced coverage, even though it was superficial.[115]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The press of Guatemala has emerged under a democracy after more than 20 years of military rule. Its journalists have become accustomed to handouts by government and business, are sorely underpaid and overworked, and their journalism education still leaves much to be desired. In news stories, they tend to report the subject a person talked about without telling what he or she said, seldom probe deeply into a story, and what is written is usually poorly organized. Not only must they often write self-promotion for the paper, their editors limit what they can cover about private enterprise.

For example, El Gráfico did not run a story when one of the supermarkets of a large chain burned, because the chain threatened to withdraw its weekly advertising supplement if the paper did.[116] "There is a commercial dictatorship against the

press," a reporter said. "You can criticize the government, but not Pepsi, Coca Cola, the coffee industry or other large commercial producers."[117]

Most reporters decry the existence of "fafa" even though they might be recipients of it. They would prefer one job at a decent salary. For this reason, some tend to look favorably upon the formation of a colegio, or collegium, under law to set the educational, professional, ethical and moral standards of the profession plus a minimum salary. Of course, publishers argue that reporters and editors would just take money on the side anyway since the tradition is so engrained.

Other journalists are concerned about the quality being offered by the journalism programs at the universities. Before 1980, only the national university, the University of San Carlos, offered one, and it had shortcomings. Now the University of Landivar and the University of Marroquin also offer programs. Programs, as one reporter noted, which result in poorly prepared students to enter into a poorly paid profession.[118] The shrinking number of news media and the small turnover in their small staffs also make fewer jobs available.

Perhaps the most pressing question is that concerning the future of democracy and freedom of the press in Guatemala. The press has become polarized and is being used as a political tool by its owners. At times, it appears they are more interested in gaining power than in the future of their country. Reporters tend to find this disturbing. "What can we expect in the future?" a reporter asked. "Probably a false democracy, or a dictatorship."[119]

Guatemalan journalists have reason to feel threatened--they have lost many colleagues over the years. When the Association of Guatemalan Journalists (APG) erected a monument to fallen comrades a few years ago, someone noted the plaque was already completely filled with names. "We can always use the other side of the monument," was the grim reply.[120]

Most journalists, however, agree that the present government has permitted freedom of the press and has tolerated an extraordinary amount of criticism. Neverthelss, they view the behavior of the government toward the press with concern and some cynicism. The death of the two television programs, the closing out of journalists from a press conference, and the interest of the government in "clarifications" preoccupy them. "Before," one journalist said, "government threats were directed at journalists. Today, they are directed at the media."[121] The presumption is, of course, that the government would like to control the news media by more subtle means than used by dictatorships.

They may have reason for concern. A proposal to the government to "reorient" the state communication media provides an extensive program to combat ideas "adverse" to those of the government. It criticizes the work of government public relations offices and the overall operations of the media owned by government: a newspaper, seven radio stations (mostly provincial), and various equipment.[122]

It suggests a new strategy about how to make them more effective against a "very agressive adversary," including the

creation of new government media. It should be noted that the author suggests, however, that rather than continue with subsidies to some television news programs, it would be more productive to produce one for a government channel./[123]

The road to democracy for Guatemala appears a fragile one and whether it will survive the trip is problematical. At the moment, the press and the government are set against each other. Probably more serious yet is whether the Democratic Christian government can solve the many economic and social problems left by years of dictatorships and at the same time provide political stability. If it becomes as corrupt and as self-serving as the dictatorships, Guatemalans as a whole might have little to lose by reverting to the military. Journalists, however, might lose all.

ENDNOTES

1. Marvin Alisky, Latin American Media: Guidance and Censorship (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981), 210-214, 224-225.

2. Robert N. Pierce, Keeping the Flame (New York: Hastings House, 1979), 181-237.

3. Francisco Goldman, "Sad Tales of La Libertad de Prensa: Reading the Newspapers of Central America," Harper's Magazine, August 1988, 56-62.

4. Mario Antonio Sandoval, letter to editor of Harper's Magazine, unedited version in possession of author, 15 August 1988, and "Just the Facts," the letter as published in Harper's Magazine, November 1988, 4-6.

5. Mary A. Gardner, The Press of Guatemala, Journalism Monographs No. 18 (Minneapolis: Association for Education in Journalism, February 1971).

6. The statistics on Guatemala found in this section come from Almanaque Mundial (Panama: Editorial América, S.A., 1988), 275-279, 544-545; American Embassy, Guatemala City, "Briefing Notes: Guatemala," March 1988, 1-4; Guatemala, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Algunas cifras acerca de Guatemala, 1986. (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1986; World Almanac and Book of Facts (New York: Pharos Books, 1988), 679.

7. Mario Antonio Sandoval, deputy editor, Prensa Libre, interview by author, 23 August 1988; Eduardo Gómez, city editor, El Gráfico, interview by author, 31 August 1988.

8. Valetín Solorzano Fernández, El relado de Juan Tayun: La vida de un indio guatemalteco (Mexico, D.F.: Costa -Amic Editores, November n.d.), 27. ". . . papers are evil, the farther away the better." Author's translation.

9. Marco Tulio Barrios Reina, "Crónica de una noche de pesadilla: de censura, de muerte para los periodistas," APG 58 abril-mayo 1987, 91-92.

10. In August 1988, a long ton (2,240 lbs.) of newsprint cost $685, according to Mario Antonio Sandoval in interview by author, 1 September 1988.

11. Miguel Angel Ortega Iriarte, "!Urge salvar la morgue!" Tzolkin, año III, 3rd época, No. 39 (n.d.), 2. Other daily papers closed in Guatemala City alone include Impacto (a.m. of La Hora, La Tarde (p.m. of El Gráfico), La Nación (a.m.), Nuevo Diario (a.m.) and La Razón. Two weeklies also have closed recently: La Época, a leftist paper destroyed by a bomb, forcing the editor to

flee the country and El País, closed by its editor after the contract for his controversial television news program "Aqui el Mundo" was cancelled.

12. Ramon Blanco, business manager, El Imparcial, interview by author, 22 August 1972.

13. Ortega Iriarte, "!Urge!" 2.

14. Cordelia Mora de Mooney, assistant to the director, El Imparcial, interview by author, 21 January 1981.

15. Ortega Iriarte, "!Urge!" 2.

16. Mario Carpio Nicolle, co-director, National Commission for the Development of Micro and Small Enterprise program, interview by author, 9 September 1988. The brother of the director of El Gráfico, Mario Carpio is the author of a fascinating book, El negocio de la prensa: un ensayo sobre el periodismo Guatemalteco (Guatemala: Universidad de San Carlos, 1979) about the press and its problems.

17. Sources the author prefers not to cite.

18. Sources the author prefers not to cite.

19. Source the author prefers not to cite.

20. Ibid.

21. Source the author prefers not to cite.

22. Source the author prefers not to cite.

23. Carmen Escribano de Leon, editor, Diario de Centro América, interview by author, 21 August 1988.

24. Ingrid Slowing de Miro, consultant to Diario de Centro América, interview by author, 16 August 1988.

25. Source the author prefers not to cite.

26. Source the author prefers not to cite.

27. Luis Morales Chu, city editor, Prensa Libre, interview by author, 24 August 1988. Morales Chu also normally writes Prensa Libre's editorials.

28. Sandoval interview, 13 September 1988.

29. Sources the author prefers not to cite.

30. Sandoval interview, 23 August 1988.

31. Sandoval, "Just the Facts," 4-6. Since most newspapers in Latin America do not audit circulations, they tend to exaggerate their circulations. Sandoval in his letter quotes figures lower than other sources, including those on Prensa Libre. Hence, the author accepts them as the most precise.

32. Morales Chu interview.

33. Pacto colectivo de condiciones de trabajo de la Impresa "Prensa Libre, Sociedad Anonima," y el Sindicato de Trabajadores de Prensa Libre, S.A. y Empresas Anexas (Guatemala: Prensa Libre, n.d.),1-52. Because of the salary raises outlined through 1989, it is apparent the contract was agreed to in 1987.

34. Morales Chu interview.

35. Atala Valenzuela, editor, society section, Prensa Libre, interview with author, 29 August 1988.

36. Mario Castro, editor and coordinator, supplements, Prensa Libre, interview by author, 1 September 1988.

37. Juan Haroldo Rodas Estrada, coordinator of "Chicos," Prensa Libre, interview by author, 29 August 1988.

38. Ibid.

39. Source the author prefers not to cite.

40. Sandoval, "Just the Facts," 5.

41. Source the author prefers not to cite.

42. "Alianza Francesa rindió homenaje a El Gráfico," and "En gentil confitrionía de IGSS, homenaje a El Gráfico en sus 25 años," 26 August 1988, 5, 33.

43. The issue of 14 September 1988 carried eight "Felicitaciones por El Gráfico" boxed on page 4. One message was dated July 20 and another July 22.

44. Carlos García Urrea, congressional reporter, El Gráfico, interview by author, 31 August 1988. Interviewees from other papers gave figures for El Gráfico as ranging from 20,000 to 40,000.

45. Eduardo Gómez, city editor, El Gráfico, interview by author, 31 August 1988.

46. Jorge López Silva, managing editor, El Gráfico, interview by author, 31 August 1988.

47. Gómez interview.

48. García Urrea interview.

49. Ricardo Gatica Trejo, reporter, El Gráfico, interview by author, 31 August 1988.

50. Source the author prefers not to cite.

51. Juan Iriarte, reporter, supplements, El Gráfico, interview by author. 7 September 1988.

52. Jorge Palmieri in "Buenos Dias," El Gráfico, 13 September 1988.

53. Sources the author prefers not to cite.

54. Source the author prefers not to cite.

55. Gonzalo Marroquin Godoy, former director of the television news program "7Dias," and director of the recently inaugurated weekly tabloid of the same name, interview by author, 14 September 1988. 7Dias is printed by La Hora.

56. "Cerezo y Guatemala: Entre el golpe militar y las huelgas," La Hora, 3 September 1988, 3.

57. Carpio Nicolle interview.

58. Source author prefers not to cite.

59. Marroquin Godoy interview.

60. Clemente Marroquin Rojas, director, La Hora, interview with author, 12 July 1968.

61. Marroquin Godoy interview. Interestingly, he gave less circulation for La Hora than journalists from other newspapers. He also said that press limitations would not permit a circulation of more than 10,000.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. The exchange rate in August-September 1988 was 2.7 quetzales for one U.S. dollar. In U.S. dollar equivalents, Prensa Libre and El Gráfico sell for 17 cents and La Hora and Diario de Centro America for 9 cents.

65. Marroquin Godoy interview.

66. Carpio Nicolle interview.

67. Vilma Archila Ilescas, reporter, Diario de Centro América, interview by author, 30 August 1988.

68. Antonio Ortiz Alvárez, city editor, Diario de Centro América, conversation with author, 26 August 1988.

69. Ana Maria Rodas, editor, cultural section, Crónica, interview by author, 16 September 1988.

70. Evelyn Klussman Oates, editor, economic section, Crónica, interview by author, 16 September 1988.

71. Ana Maria Rodas interview.

72. Jeannnette Gonzalez G., director, Radio Nuevo Mundo, interview with author, 13 September 1988. Gonzalez said that a friend who owns a supermarket indicated that Crónica was outselling both Time and Visión in the store.

73. Guatemala. Presidencia de la Republica, Secretaría de Relaciones Públicas, "Carta Semanal," 13 September 1988, 2, and Gonzalez G. interview.

74. Sources the author prefers not to cite.

75. Valenzuela interview.

76. "Requiem por los telenoticieros," Crónica, 2 June 1988, 11-12, 15-16, and American Embassy, "Briefing Notes."

77. Saul David Oliva Lopez, reporter, Diario de Centro América, interview by author, 30 August 1988.

78. Carpio Nicolle interview.

79. "Requiem," Crónica, 2 June 1988, 16.

80. Carpio Nicolle interview; Sandoval interview, 23 August 1988.

81. "Requiem," Crónica, 2 June 1988, 15.

82. "Luis Rabbe: 'El problema se reduce a una deuda,'" Crónica, 2 June 1988, 18.

83. "Gonzalo Marroquin: 'Hay que evitar la influencia extranjera,'" Cronica, 2 June 1988, 17.

84. Marroquin Godoy interview.

85. Alvaro Galvez Mis, "Procesan a presuntos golpistas," Guate noticias, segunda quincena de mayo 1988, 3-4.

86. "Requiem," Crónica, 2 June 1988.

87. Gonzalez G. interview.

88. Ibid.

89. Sandoval interview, 23 August 1988.

90. Gonzalez G. interview.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. Carpio Nicolle, El negocio, 78-79.

95. Source the author prefers not to cite.

96. Carpio Nicolle, El negocio, 86-88.

97. Guatemala,. Constitución, Art. 35 (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1987), 20. Translation by author.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid., 20-21.

100. Ibid., 21.

101. Ibid., 26.

102. Ibid.

103. Guatemala, Publicaciones del Ministerio de Gobernación, Ley de Emisión del Pensamiento [1966] (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1972), 18-19.

104. Hugo Arce, "?Señor, señora, señorita?. . Mario Alberto," text read on "Aqui el Mundo," 18 January 1988.

105. Prensa Libre, 15 September 1988, 10.

106. Jose Eduardo Zarco, "T-Mas: Vergonzoso y lamentable juicio," Prensa Libre, 5 August 1988, 11.

107. Jose Eduardo Zarco, "T-Mas: Mario Alberto Carrera responde," Prensa Libre, 12 August 1988, 11.

108. Mario Alberto Carrera, "Opinión: Aclaraciones absolutamente necesarias," El Gráfico, 9 September 1988, 8; "Opinión: Aclaraciones absolutamente necesarias (IV)," El Gráfico, 14 September 1988, 8.

109. "Deniegan el amparo," Prensa Libre, 15 September, 2.

110. Mario Alberto Carrera, "Opinión: Improcente el amparo, mas no el derecho de aclaración," El Gráfico, 16 September 1988, 8.

111. "Editorial: Ataque a la libertad," Prensa Libre, 7 September 1988, 10.

112. "Editorial: En defensa de la libre emisión del pensamiento," and Jorge Palmieri, "Bueños días: Vista pública," El Gráfico, 10 September 1988, 9.

113. Sampling of headlines from Prensa Libre, 2-16 September 1988.

114. "Vista pública se realizó," Prensa Libre, 11 September 1988, 2.

115. "Vista pública: 'Quieren acallar a la prensa,'" El Gráfico, 11 September 1988, 4.

116. Sources the author prefers not to cite.

117. Source the author prefers not to cite.

118. Ana Maria Rodas interview.

119. Source the author prefers not to cite.

120. Sandoval interview, 1 September 1988.

121. Source the author prefers not to cite.

122. "Propuesta para reorientar los medios de comunicación estatales," n.d., 3-13. The author of the document is unidentified, although this writer received her copy from him.

123. Ibid.,5.

110. Mario Alberto Carrera, "Opinión: Improcente el amparo, mas no el derecho de aclaración," El Gráfico, 16 September 1988, 8.

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